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were later followed by the French. But the Russian authorities still maintain road and rail controls over their zonal boundaries at the present time.

More serious and insidious was the attempt made by the Soviet element to limit the authority of the Allied Control Commission and extend the clause of the Control Agreement which provided that agreements between the Austrian Government and one of the four occupying Powers did not require to be approved by the Allied Council. Had this attempt succeeded, the Austrian Government would have been subject in many matters, not to quadripartite supervision, but to the authority of a single occupying Power. The Soviet representatives cleverly raised the matter in connexion with a law passed by the Austrian Parliament in 1946, to implement a dollar credit agreement between Austria and the United States. The Quadripartite Finance Directorate unanimously recommended that the law should be approved by the Allied Council. But the Russian member of the Council took up the position that the Council could not discuss the question, and that the Austrian Government should be notified that agreements and legislative measures concerning one of the four Powers should not be submitted for consideration by the Allied Council. The three Western representatives fortunately saw the wider implications of this suggestion and insisted on the distinction between an agreement and legislation arising out of an agreement. All Austrian legislative measures, they maintained, had to be submitted to the Allied Council.

There were a number of matters in which the Western Allies wished to alleviate the burdens and restrictions resting on the Austrian people and in which the Soviet authorities pursued a policy of complete or partial obstruction. As has been seen, the Russians refused to consider two proposals for reducing the occupying Forces put forward by the Western Powers. Postal communications between Austria and the rest of the world were progressively restored until December 1948, when letters were allowed to be sent to Japan, the last country on the list. But the Russians held up this process by opposition

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on such trifling matters as the categories of mail permitted, and at certain stages in the restoration of postal facilities with Germany and Japan 'printed matter' and registered letters became subjects of discussion between the High Commissioners. All four occupying Powers had broadcasting stations under their control, but the Russians, being in possession of RAVAG, the main Vienna station, could cause most inconvenience to the Austrians. In 1950 the Soviet authorities gave orders that the despatches of the Russian news service, known as TASS, were to be broadcast in full, as part of the Austrian news, without being attributed to their source. After a Communist official had punched the director of the Austrian news bureau on the nose, the Austrians maintained their right to do as they wished with their news broadcasts. During the same year a Western proposal that a Viennese television station should be approved was dropped owing to Soviet insistence on conditions that would have led to its falling under Soviet domination. The Russians also did all that they could to hinder the development of Austrian civil aviation, and a Department of Civil Aviation in the Austrian Government that was established with Western support in 1947 has been able to accomplish very little. On a higher level, the Soviet authorities consistently opposed Austria's applications to join the specialized agencies of the United Nations, and their efforts were only thwarted owing to Austrian determination and world-wide support for her membership.

On the two questions of censorship and the police the Soviet policy of obstruction was particularly stubborn. In the light of Russia's record in its satellite countries, the choice of these subjects for special treatment is a cause of no surprise.

The origin of the Allied censorship in Vienna goes back to the autumn of 1945, when a Quadripartite Signals Committee was formed to supervise such restrictions on civil communications as were necessary for security reasons, until the Austrian Government assumed normal responsibility. A quadripartite censorship was set up in the Schillerplatz in Vienna which controlled all telegrams and telephone calls between Austria

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and foreign countries and censored all foreign mail going in and out of Vienna and the Russian zone. The committee laid down that all communication developments undertaken by the Austrian Post and Telegraph Administration required the unanimous approval of all four occupying Powers, and informed the administration at once that the construction and allocation of communication lines between Vienna and the outside world were subject to the unilateral agreement of the Soviet Command. As these lines would all have to pass through the Russian zone, this was a natural arrangement to make in the days before there was a serious rift between Russia and the West. Since that time the Soviet authorities have consistently refused to give up the powers allotted to them in these circumstances.

The Austrian Government has made numerous requests that the Allied censorship restrictions shall be raised. These have been supported by the Western Powers, who have abolished censorship in their own zones. But the Soviet High Commissioner has refused to alter the existing system, and he even suggested in 1948 that foreign mail for the whole of Austria should be subject to centralized censorship in Vienna. A Western proposal for the censorship of telephone calls near the frontier was turned down. So the absurd system continues by which a 10-kilometre call between Feldkirch in the Vorarlberg and Buchs in Switzerland has to be routed through Vienna over 500 kilometres away. On one occasion the Russians took exception to a short technical telephone line in connexion with a river power-station, on the grounds that one end was in Austria and one in Germany, and maintained that all calls on it should be diverted to Vienna for censorship.

The existing system gives the Soviet authorities a hold over Austrian communications with abroad which they show no sign of relinquishing. The Western Powers only take part in it in order to prevent it coming entirely under Soviet control. In June 1950 it was revealed that the Russians had their own tapping arrangements in the Schillerplatz in addition to the official quadripartite censorship, when a Soviet officer ill-

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advisedly came up from the basement to the switchboard to complain that he could not hear a certain international call that was in progress. During the same year the Russians ordered the disconnection of three transit telephone circuits between adjoining countries which pass through Austrian territory without connecting into the Austrian system. They also arbitrarily disconnected the Yugoslav Government's teleprinting station in Vienna.

In December 1951 the Austrian Government's impatience with these proceedings caused the Chancellor to send a note to the Allied Council announcing the Government's intention to substitute the name 'Allied Censorship Agency', for 'Austrian Censorship Agency'. 'Censorship in Austria', he wrote, 'is exclusively performed according to the instructions of the occupying Powers. In no way does it serve Austrian interests. On the contrary, it runs counter to them.' The Government also announced its decision to dismiss all the 863 employees under contract with the Censorship Agency. Yet, in spite of this protest, the censorship continues. The Austrian Government defrays three-quarters of the cost. The work is still carried out by Austrians, who are mostly Communists chosen for the purpose by the Russians in 1945. And the cumbersome and wasteful procedure gives no satisfaction to anyone except the Soviet authorities and those for whom it provides employment.

In the months immediately following the liberation it was the clear intention of the Russian military leaders to establish control over the Austrian police. As many Communists as possible were introduced both into the ranks of the active police force and into the most responsible administrative positions. The effects of these efforts were still noticeable six years later. But Russian influence was checked when the Western Powers arrived in Vienna, and it ceased to be preponderant after the 1945 elections. From then on the object of Soviet policy was to limit both the numbers and efficiency of the police.

The Austrian Government repeatedly asked the Allied

f) Investments for the federal railways and the post and telegraph service. 655 [496]

The Austrian federal railways received 210 million schillings in 1950 to carry out planned investments. Especially mentioned should be: the Semmering tunnel financed in 1950 by ERP counterpart funds, the Prebichl tunnel, the Tauern tunnel, the Danube bridges at Tulin and Krems, the Inn bridge in Brixlegg and the Nordwestbahn bridge in Vienna. These high allocations to the federal railway system were necessary to enable the whole transport system, which was heavily damaged by war action and dismantling, to keep pace with the recovery of the national economy. Gradual renovation of the rolling stock, restoration of road beds and tracks, building of bridges, installations for freight, repair of railway shops and track installations (such as signal houses, etc.) were necessary to fulfill the requirements of the economy.

The same consideration holds true for the Austrian post and telegraph administration, which received 60 million schillings from counterpart funds in 1950 and for which another 15 million schillings were reserved by the December grant. The postal system was able to carry out most of its projected plans. In particular, the transfer of the planned coaxial cable was accomplished. Damaged district cables were changed or transferred in the course of installing the automatic telephone system. Various automatic telephone central offices were enlarged and two new trunk exchanges built. [205] [206]